

## Message Text

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11

ACTION H-03

INFO OCT-01 EA-06 ISO-00 SS-07 NSC-06 AID-01 /024 W

----- 077184

R 150745Z AUG 75

FM AMEMBASSY TOKYO

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 2500

INFO AMEMBASSY JAKARTA

AMEMBASSY MANILA

AMEMBASSY SEOUL

CINCPAC HONOLULU HI

COMUS JAPAN YOKOTA AFB JAPAN

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE SECTION 1 OF 2 TOKYO 11354

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: OREP (WOLFF, LESTER L.)

SUBJ: CODEL WOLFF: MEETINGS WITH PRIME MINISTER, DEPUTY PRIME  
MINISTER AND FOREIGN MINISTER

SUMMARY: AT URGENT REQUEST OF CHAIRMAN WOLFF FOLLOWING  
ARRIVAL HIS DELEGATION IN TOKYO ON AUGUST 11, APPOINTMENTS  
WERE ARRANGED FOR CODEL TO CALL ON PRIME MINISTER AND  
DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER AUGUST 13 IN ADDITION TO PREVIOUSLY  
SCHEDULED CALL ON FOREIGN MINISTER. MEETINGS PROVIDED  
OPPORTUNITY FOR CHAIRMAN WOLFF TO EXPLAIN ROLE OF  
CONGRESS IN FOREIGN POLICY AND OFFER ASSURANCES OF  
U.S. INTENTION TO MAINTAIN ACTIVE PRESENCE IN ASIA. GOJ  
LEADERSHIP PROVIDED FRANK EXPOSITION OF THEIR VIEWS  
ON CURRENT ASIAN SCENE. END SUMMARY.

1. IN EACH OF THESE THREE MEETINGS, CHAIRMAN WOLFF  
LED OFF WITH EXPLANATION OF POSITIVE ROLE CONGRESS  
HOPES TO PLAY IN DETERMINATION OF U.S. FOREIGN POLICY.  
HE EMPHASIZED UNIQUE COMPOSITION OF HIS SUBCOMMITTEE  
ON FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT AND  
POINTED OUT THAT ONE PURPOSE OF HIS MISSION WAS TO  
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OBTAIN FIRST-HAND KNOWLEDGE OF SITUATION IN ASIA AS A  
BASIS FOR DETAILED CONSIDERATION OF U.S. POLICY IN THAT  
AREA. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ALSO EMPHASIZED THAT THERE WAS  
NO NECESSARY CONFLICT BETWEEN CONGRESS AND EXECUTIVE

BRANCH IN THE AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY BUT RATHER THAT CONGRESS SOUGHT TO PLAY A CONSTRUCTIVE ROLE REFLECTING THE INTERRELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN AFFAIRS. CHAIRMAN WOLFF ALSO STATED THAT AN IMPORTANT PURPOSE OF THIS MISSION WAS TO REASSURE COUNTRIES IN ASIA OF U.S. INTENTION TO MAINTAIN AN ACTIVE AND COOPERATIVE PRESENCE IN ASIA.

MEETING WITH PRIME MINISTER:

2. IN RESPONDING TO CHAIRMAN WOLFF'S OPENING REMARKS, PRIME MINISTER MIKI EXPRESSED APPRECIATION FOR THE WARM WELCOME HE HAD RECEIVED IN THE U.S. AND SATISFACTION WITH THE RESULTS OF HIS MEETINGS WITH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER. HE NOTED THAT HE CONSIDERED THE ACHIEVEMENT OF PEACE AND STABILITY IN THE ASIAN/PACIFIC REGION TO BE A PRIORITY CONCERN REQUIRING CLOSE U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION. MIKI NOTED THAT FOR ASIAN NATIONS THE EXPERIENCE IN VIETNAM HAD UNDERSCORED THE IMPORTANCE OF SELF-HELP EFFORTS TO STRENGTHEN THE ECONOMIC, POLITICAL AND SOCIAL BASIS OF EACH INDIVIDUAL COUNTRY IN THESE COUNTRIES ARE NOT TO BE VULNERABLE TO EXTERNAL AGGRESSION. HE EXPECTS THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA THEREFORE TO CONCENTRATE THEIR EFFORTS ON NATION-BUILDING AND THESE EFFORTS, IN MIKI'S VIEW, ARE THE PREMISE FOR CLOSE U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION IN ASSISTING THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA TO ACHIEVE SELF-RELIANCE. IT IS WITHIN THIS CONTEXT, MIKI INSISTED, THAT ASIAN NATIONS WISH THE U.S. TO CONTINUE TO TAKE A POSITIVE INTEREST IN THE REGION.

3. IN RESPONSE TO CHAIRMAN WOLFF'S COMMENTS ON THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING ECONOMIC SECURITY, PARTICULARLY IN THE AREA OF VITAL RESOURCES, AS WELL AS MILITARY SECURITY, PRIME MINISTER MIKI SPOKE AT SOME LENGTH ON BROAD ISSUES OF SECURITY. HE STATED THAT MILITARY SECURITY IS, OF COURSE, OF GREAT IMPORTANCE TO JAPAN, ESPECIALLY THE SECURITY OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. HE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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RECALLED THAT HE HAD STRESSED TO PRESIDENT FORD THE IMPORTANCE THAT THERE SHOULD BE NO ABRUPT CHANGE IN THE PRESENT BALANCE OF FORCES ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA AND, THEREFORE, THAT THE CONTINUED PRESENCE OF U.S. FORCES REMAINS NECESSARY. AT THE SAME TIME, MIKI CONTINUED, IT IS NECESSARY TO CONTINUE TO EXPLORE WAYS BY WHICH LONG-TERM STABILITY ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA CAN BE ACHIEVED. HE SAID HE HAD ASSURED PRESIDENT FORD OF HIS DESIRE TO REMAIN IN CLOSE CONTACT WITH THE U.S. CONCERNING THIS QUESTION. TURNING TO THE POLITICAL ASPECTS OF SECURITY, MIKI STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF ACHIEVING POLITICAL STABILITY IN THE VARIOUS COUNTRIES OF ASIA AND IMPROVING

THE WELL-BEING OF THE PEOPLE. HE STATED THAT JAPAN IS UNABLE TO CONTRIBUTE TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF MILITARY SECURITY IN THE REGION BECAUSE OF CONSTITUTIONAL AND OTHER LIMITATIONS BUT HOPES TO EXPAND POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC COOPERATION AS MUCH AS POSSIBLE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA.

4. TURNING TO THE QUESTION OF TERRORISM, MIKI STATED THAT IN ORDER TO AVOID SUCH INCIDENTS AS RECENTLY OCCURRED IN KUALA LUMPUR EFFORTS SHOULD BE MADE TO CONCLUDE AN INTERNATIONAL CONVENTION DENYING SAFE HAVEN BY ANY COUNTRY TO TERRORISTS. HE SUGGESTED THAT DISCUSSIONS WITH THIS OBJECTIVE IN MIND MIGHT BEST BE UNDERTAKEN WITHIN THE UNITED NATIONS.

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5. ON THE QUESTION OF ENERGY, MIKI STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE OF AVOIDING ANOTHER OUTBREAK OF WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST. HE SAID THAT HE HAD TOLD PRESIDENT FORD AND SECRETARY KISSINGER THAT JAPAN APPRECIATES HIGHLY THEIR DIPLOMATIC EFFORTS TO ACHIEVE A PEACEFUL SETTLEMENT IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND HAD PLEDGED JAPAN'S FULL SUPPORT TO THOSE EFFORTS. IN ADDITION, MIKI OUTLINED THREE AREAS OF U.S.-JAPAN COOPERATION IN THE FIELD OF ENERGY: EXPLORATION OF NEW SOURCES OF OIL; EXPANSION OF RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT FOR NEW SOURCES OF ENERGY; AND IMPROVEMENT OF CONSERVATION MEASURES. WITH RESPECT TO ENERGY RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT, MIKI COMMENTED THAT U.S. AND JAPAN SHOULD NOT REST ON THEIR OARS HAVING CONCLUDED AN R&D AGREEMENT, AND HE URGED THAT BOTH COUNTRIES MOBILIZE GREATER FINANCIAL AND MANPOWER

RESOURCES IN SUPPORT OF THIS PROGRAM.

MEETING WITH DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER:

6. AFTER EXPRESSING HIS APPRECIATION FOR SUCCESS OF FORD/  
MIKI SUMMIT, DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA TURNED TO A  
GENERAL DISCUSSION OF CURRENT ASIAN SCENE. FUKUDA  
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REMARKED THAT IN WAKE OF FALL OF SOUTH VIETNAM THERE  
HAS BEEN CONSIDERABLE TALK ON PART OF ASIAN POLITICAL  
LEADERS AND JOURNALISTS OF NEED TO "DISENGAGE" FROM CLOSE  
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. FUKUDA FELT THAT  
THIS IS LARGELY SUPERFICIAL PHENOMENA AND THAT BASICALLY  
ASIAN COUNTRIES STRONGLY DESIRE THE UNITED STATES TO  
MAINTAIN A CONTINUED AND ACTIVE PRESENCE IN EAST ASIA.  
FUKUDA THEN TURNED TO THE INTERNAL POLITICAL STRUCTURE  
OF ASIAN COUNTRIES. HE NOTED THAT ONLY JAPAN CAN BE  
DESCRIBED AS A DEMOCRATIC COUNTRY IN NAME AND IN FACT.  
ALTHOUGH LEADERSHIP OF OTHER ASIAN COUNTRIES MAY ASPIRE  
TO DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS, IN FACT THEY HAVE FELT FORCED  
BY CIRCUMSTANCES TO TURN TO ONE FORM OF AUTHORITARIAN  
GOVERNMENT OR ANOTHER. SPECIFICALLY, WITH RESPECT TO  
KOREA HE NOTED THAT DIVISION OF KOREAN PENNINSULA AT 38TH  
PARALLEL AND HOSTILE REGIME TO THE NORTH HAS CREATED  
A HIGH STATE OF TENSION IN SOUTH KOREA. IN RESPONSE,  
REPUBLIC OF KOREA LEADERSHIP HAS EVOLVED A "PARA-  
MILITARY STATE." FUKUDA STATED THAT JAPAN, BEING CLOSE  
TO KOREA, COULD UNDERSTAND THE CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH  
HAD SHAPED THE POLITICAL STRUCTURE OF THE REPUBLIC  
OF KOREA. FROM THE DISTANCE OF WASHINGTON, HOWEVER,  
IT IS ONLY THE IMAGE OF DICTATORSHIP WHICH IS RECEIVED,  
AND THE DEPUTY PRIME MINISTER QUESTIONED WHETHER MANY  
MEMBERS OF CONGRESS HAVE AN ADEQUATE UNDERSTANDING  
OF THE ACTUAL CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA.  
AS A THIRD POINT IN HIS DISCUSSION OF THE ASIAN SCENE,  
FUKUDA STRESSED THE ADVERSE IMPACT ON DEVELOPING  
ASIAN COUNTRIES OF GLOBAL ECONOMIC RECESSION. HE  
EMPHASIZED THE NECESSITY FOR JAPAN AND THE UNITED STATES  
TO COOPERATE CLOSELY IN RESTORING STRENGTH TO THE  
GLOBAL ECONOMY AS A NECESSARY PRECONDITION TO FURTHER  
DEVELOPMENT OF ASIAN ECONOMIES. IN RESPONSE TO  
CONGRESSMAN GILMAN'S QUESTION AS TO WHETHER THE FORCES  
OF NATIONALISM IN ASIA COMBINED WITH THE GROWING INFLUENCE  
OF CHINA AND THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT NOT ERODE  
RELATIONS BETWEEN ASIAN COUNTRIES AND THE UNITED STATES,  
FUKUDA REPLIED THAT IN ORDER TO PRECLUDE SUCH A

POSSIBILITY THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN MUST COOPERATE  
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IN ASSISTING ASIAN COUNTRIES TO ACHIEVE POLITICAL STABILITY AND ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT. WITH RESPECT TO THE UNITED STATES, FUKUDA EMPHASIZED, IT IS AS NECESSARY TO MAINTAIN AN EFFECTIVE ECONOMIC PRESENCE IN ASIA AS IT IS TO MAINTAIN A MILITARY PRESENCE.

MEETING WITH FOREIGN MINISTER:

7. FOREIGN MINISTER MIYAZAWA ALSO EXPRESSED THE GRATITUDE OF PRIME MINISTER MIKI AND HIS PARTY FOR THE WARM RECEPTION THEY HAD RECEIVED IN THE UNITED STATES. HE THEN OFFERED TO ANSWER ANY QUESTIONS THE CODEL MIGHT HAVE.

8. IN RESPONSE TO CONGRESSMAN GILMAN'S QUESTION (SIMILAR TO THAT HE HAD RAISED WITH FUKUDA) THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT THERE IS, OF COURSE, SOME AMBIVALENCE IN ASIAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE UNITED STATES. IN MANY COUNTRIES, "NOT EXCLUDING JAPAN PERHAPS," TALKING ILL OF THE UNITED STATES IS A "GAME" OF MANY POLITICIANS TO SHOW THEIR INDEPENDENCE FROM INFLUENCE OF THE UNITED STATES. BUT IN HIS VIEW, BASICALLY, ASIAN POLITICAL LEADERS REALIZE THAT THEIR COUNTRIES CANNOT SURVIVE WITHOUT MAINTAINING A SUBSTANTIAL RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES AND JAPAN. HE DESCRIBED THE SITUATION IN KOREA AS SOMEWHAT SPECIAL. THERE, BECAUSE THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA FEELS ITSELF UNDER THE SHADOW OF AN IMMEDIATE THREAT THERE IS NO CHALLENGE TO A STRONG RELATIONSHIP WITH THE UNITED STATES. REGARDING JAPAN, HOWEVER, RELATIONS ARE "SOMEWHAT DELICATE." "WE JAPANESE ARE NOT MUCH LOVED BY THE KOREANS BUT THEY WANT OUR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE."

9. REPLYING TO CONGRESSMAN SIMON'S QUESTION WHETHER THE UNITED STATES BASE POSTURE IN JAPAN IS SUCH AS TO AVOID ANTAGONIZING JAPANESE PEOPLE, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT IN GENERAL THE UNITED STATES IS MANAGING THIS PROBLEM "REASONABLY WELL." THE PRIMARY AREA OF CONCERN, HE SAID, IS WITH INCIDENTS INVOLVING THE MARINES ON OKINAWA. HE SAID THAT THE EMBASSY AND MILITARY COMMANDERS IN JAPAN ARE SYMPATHETIC TO THIS LIMITED OFFICIAL USE  
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PROBLEM AND ARE MAKING EVERY EFFORT TO REDUCE IT. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID THAT IN THE GOVERNMENT'S VIEW IT IS IMPORTANT TO RETAIN THE PRESENCE OF THE MARINES IN OKINAWA. THE IDEAL SITUATION, OF COURSE, WOULD BE CONTINUED PRESENCE AND MUCH IMPROVED BEHAVIOR

OF THE TROOPS.

10. CONGRESSMAN BADILLO EXPRESSED THE CONCERN OF SOME MEMBERS OF CONGRESS FOR SECRETARY OF DEFENSE SCHLESINGER'S COMMENTS ON THE POSSIBLE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS IN THE DEFENSE OF THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. HE ASKED HOW THE GOJ HAD REACTED TO SUCH STATEMENTS AND WHETHER IT HAD MADE ITS VIEWS KNOWN TO THE UNITED STATES. THE FOREIGN MINISTER REPLIED THAT HE UNDERSTOOD THE SECRETARY OF DEFENSE'S STATEMENT AS A CALCULATED WARNING TO NORTH KOREA NOT TO MISCALCULATE OR UNDERESTIMATE THE FIRMNESS OF THE UNITED STATES' COMMITMENT TO THE REPUBLIC OF KOREA. AS SUCH, HE FELT THAT THE SECDEF'S STATEMENT HAD HAD THE DESIRED AFFECT. IT WAS HIS IMPRESSION THAT BOTH PRESIDENT FORD AND SECDEF NOW BELIEVE THAT THE MOST CRITICAL MOMENT IN KOREA IS PAST, AND SO HE DID NOT EXPECT THERE WOULD BE A NEED TO REPEAT SUCH STATEMENTS AS SECDEF HAD MADE CONCERNING POSSIBLE USE OF NUCLEAR WEAPONS. (EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON OTHER ASPECTS KOREAN SECURITY SITUATION BEING REPORTED SEPTEL.)

HODGSON

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## Message Attributes

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